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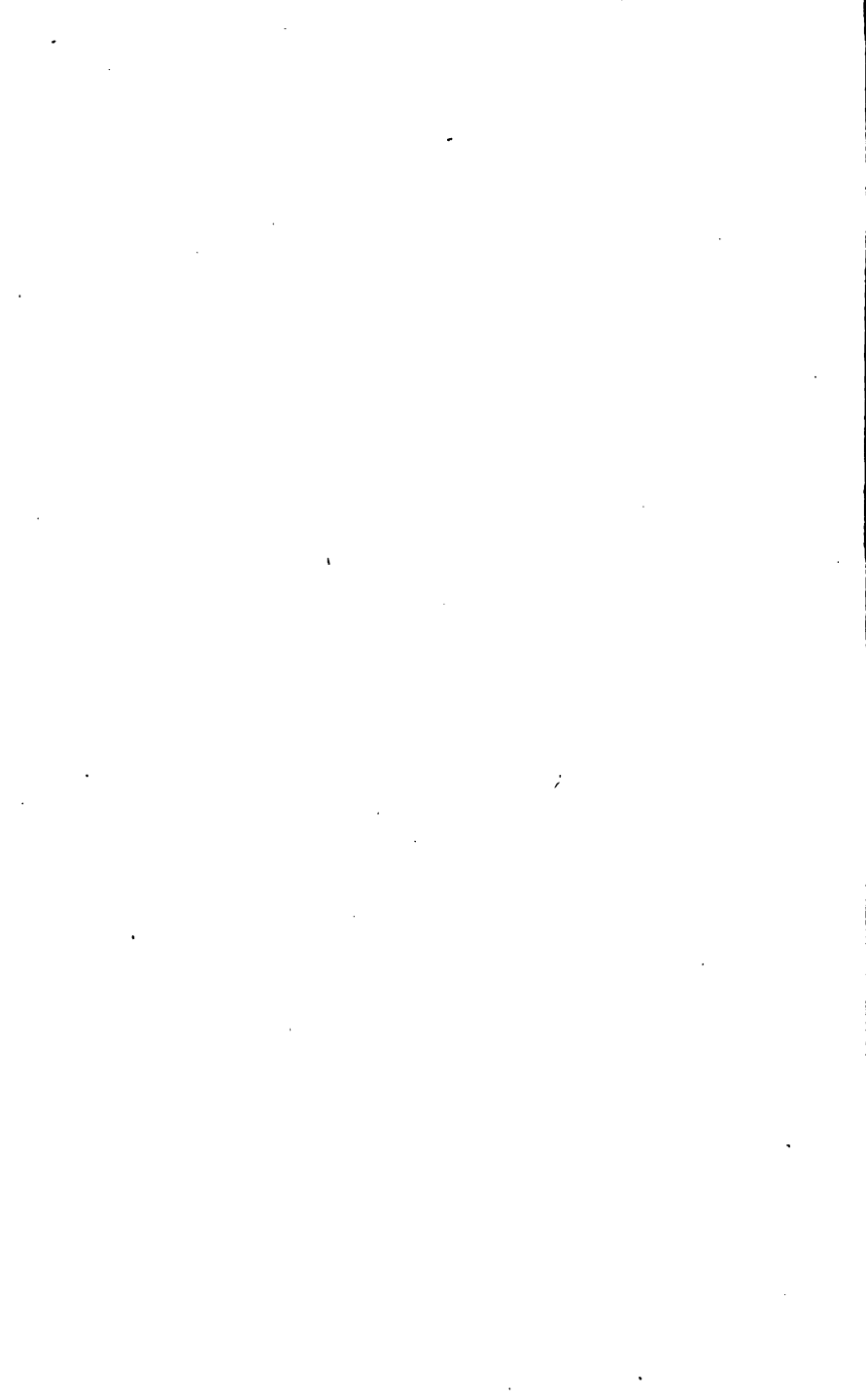
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BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

—WITH—

*a plea for Home Rule or Self-Government, put
forth by the representatives of all classes,
all communities and all provinces
of British India.*



Minneapolis
INDO-ARYAN PUBLISHING CO.
1917

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, president of the All-India Moslem League, held at Lucknow during Christmas, 1916, said on self-government for India: "Leaving aside hairbrained twaddle of the tribe of scientific peddlers who love to sit in judgment on the East and ape political philosophy, no man with the least pretensions to common sense can affect to maintain that the Indian humanity is stamped with a ruthless psychology and cramped for ever within the prison of its skull. If the Indians are not the pariahs of Nature, if they are not out of the pale or operations of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and think and plan and organize together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government, i. e., the attainment of the power to apply, through properly organized channels, the common national will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their national existence. The cant of unfitness must die. The laws of Nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East.

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress, held in Lucknow during December, 1916, said as follows: "On every side we see the stirrings of a new spirit, a yearning towards light and freedom, and the time is at hand for the realization of the glorious dreams of those who sowed the seed of Western knowledge in India. The call of the Motherland is sounding in our ears. The Press Act cannot quell our ardour, nor can the Defense of India Act cool our enthusiasm. They only re-enforce the lesson that 'where freedom lives not, there live no good things.' Unjust opposition, instead of daunting us, will only stimulate us to greater effort, for to us self-government is not a privilege but a duty. Inspired by a clear-eyed faith in the ultimate victory of our cause, which nothing can shake, and a passionate patriotism which rejoices in service and self-sacrifice, we shall march forward resolutely to the goal that we have set before us of winning for our country its rightful place in the British commonwealth. I earnestly trust that England will read the signs of the times aright and add a glorious page to her history by helping three hundred millions to cast off the shackles that bind them."

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BEQUEST OF
GEORGE B. WILD
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
1870 -- 1941
IN MEMORY OF HIS BROTHER
ROBERT WILD '97
1878 -- 1928

I

British Rule in India

While the thick clouds of the European war are still overhanging and threatening India, a united voice has gone forth to the four quarters of the world announcing the manly desire and the bold decision of over three hundred and fifteen million people concerning their future destiny. For, it was during the last session of the Indian National Congress—an unofficial Parliament of India, held during the Christmas week of 1916, that India gave free and full expression of herself. Under the roof of a vast pavilion constructed specially for this national gathering in the famous city of Lucknow, sat together, bound by indissoluble ties of common interests and common aspirations, the representatives of the numerous communities and the inhabitants of the various provinces. The Marhattas and the Bengales, the Punjabees and the Madrasees—Hindus, Muhamedans, Christians, and Parsis—gathered together to represent all races, religions and communities. The Indian National Congress is the only political organization which seeks to represent the views and aspirations of the Indians as a whole in India. It has been in existence during the last thirty years. The Congress declared this year for the first time, in an unmistakable language that

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the people of that vast empire were dissatisfied with an autocratic government and demanded, instead, a popular, representative and responsible government, consistent with the growing aspirations of the people; that they will not possibly tolerate the pretensions of the Colonies to a share in the government of India, without their being admitted to as equally an effective share in the government of the rest of the Empire; that the future relations of India with England should be identical with the relations of the dominions to England.

The one dominant note that ran through the memorable address of the president and the proceedings of the Congress was the demand for Home Rule or Self-Government for India. It was clearly brought out that an overwhelming majority of thinking Indians belonging to different political parties are unanimous in their demand for the radical change in administration of their country. The reason why India is insisting and demanding Home Rule at this period of world's cataclysm is that her status needs to be readjusted after this war. The self-governing colonies of the British Empire are determined to demand equal rights with the mother country and participate in the government of the Empire. Can India alone stand aside and be ruled by those who bar her sons and daughters from entering on the soil of these colonies? The people of India realize that self-government is their birth right, and no one, much less the English nation, which declares her intention of fighting for the rights of the smaller and helpless nations, can keep her dependent and deprived of her natural rights. In the words of Macaulay, 'Many politicians are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into

the water until he had learned how to swim." The British statesmen have long conjured the world on race and racial characteristics of the people of India, but the progressive spirit of the intelligent man will revolt against the unblest doctrine that one portion of mankind is forever to rule and another portion of mankind to bend its neck to the yoke.

This memorable session of the Congress has brought to light more clearly than ever before, the aspirations surging in the throbbing hearts of the Indian masses. All the important controvertial subjects have been touched. The pronouncement of the president is sufficiently bold for illucidation, yet, within the limits of the constitutional rights of the people. India has demanded that she must be accorded in the economy of the Imperial household an honorable status. It is her rightful demand. She should no longer be the housemaid, but one of the daughters of the household. Her relation to Britain should be similar to the colonies' relation to the latter. Her relation to the colonies must be identical with the colonies' relation to her. Rights and obligations must be equal and mutual to a complete degree. To the people of India, it is unthinkable that the colonies should in any way and to any extent be masters over her. She may have to submit to the intolerable humiliation, but she will not do so willingly, and her people will nerve themselves to face many an ordeal before yielding to the inevitable.

Another important question was that of the internal government of India. For thirty years have the representatives of the people labored for obtaining reforms which will bring about improved economic conditions, a wider diffusion of education, a better administration of justice, a less costly governmental machinery, and a more equitable place for the children of the soil in the administration of their affairs. Now the hour has

struck for the Congress to take a more decisive step and urge that a radical transformation should be effected in the constitution. So far the line of least resistance was followed. A flank movement, they said, was preferable to frontal attack. But the clear-sighted leaders representing all communities and all provinces have now resolved to win the substance instead of the sympathy. India asks in no ambiguous terms that in internal administration, power should rest in the hands of the people themselves, through their accredited representatives; that the executive should be answerable to a freely elected legislature with effective control of the legislation. These views represent the irreducible minimum for the present. The eyes of the whole country were fixed on this session and it has amply fulfilled the expectations by voicing the national opinion with lucidity and courage. Success or failure in these demands will eventually shape the destiny of over 315 millions of people inhabiting that vast empire.

The task which the educated and enlightened people of India are now called upon to accomplish is the most difficult that ever confronted any people on the face of the earth. The vested interests of a commercial nation, and the class privileges of the Anglo-Indian community in India stand in danger of being disturbed. The world outside has been accustomed to look on India from the angle of vision of British government. The progressive people of the United States are just now beginning to realize that there is a world outside of their narrow boundaries; that human beings in other countries have aspirations for freedom; that there is something nobler and grander in nations to protect the weak and the helpless. India has suffered immensely because of her obscurity and unsympathetic attitude of the world outside. These few pages will throw a flood of light on the mighty struggle which India is under-

going today. Secure in the conviction that all the forces of modern times are on their side, happy in the realization of the righteousness of their cause, and determined to fight their battles, the sons and daughters of India can well afford to face misunderstandings and official disfavours in the righteous demands of their birth rights. They have resolved to demand a popular government with an effective voice in the management of their own affairs. They have demanded that fiscal freedom and legislative autonomy in matters affecting their domestic policies and economic positions be given them. They have asked a place in the empire conducive to the selfrespect of their people as citizens of the empire, but not inferior in dignity and power to that occupied by any self-governing colony.

—K. D. Shastri.

II

INDIA'S SITUATION

*Extracts from the presidential address delivered at Lucknow on
December 26th, 1916, in the 31st session of the
Indian National Congress.*

The Hon. Ambika Charan Mujumdar, President of the 31st Indian National Congress, delivered the following address:

Brother and Sister Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It was Lord Curzon who on a memorable occasion said that it was not given to an Indian corporal to carry the Field Marshal's baton in his gnap-sack', but here an Indian private, recruited somewhere in the seventies who after a few years' training joined his colours but never rose above the rank of a subaltern, has today after nearly 35 years of active service found that baton thrust into his hand which, however, he neither deserved nor dreamt of in all his life. I use no language of mere convention when I say, that trying and momentous as the present situation is, I sincerely wished that at this turning point in the history of the national movement, the presidential chair of the thirty-first Indian National Congress had been offered to a more capable person who might have not only inspired greater confidence, but by his superior tact and judgment safely steered it clear of all shoals and bars that still lie before it and successfully led it into port after a perilous voyage extending over thirty years: I wished it had been permitted to me to stand aside and gratify the wishes of a section of my countrymen with whose

ardent hopes and sanguine expectations for the rapid advancement of the country I am in the fullest sympathy. But it ought to be remembered that the chosen spokesman of a great representative assembly like the Congress is merely an accredited agent whose individuality is more or less merged in the body politic and whose freedom of action is largely controlled by that body. Even his voice, as I understand it, is bound not to reflect his personal "ipse dixits," but echo the reasoned feelings and sentiments of those whom he seeks to represent. In every organized movement the individual counts for nothing and the voice of the majority cannot but be respected under a constitutional fiction as the voice of the whole. It was the country's mandate in the country's cause which demanded unquestioning submission. The decision as well as the responsibility rested with the country, the duty resting on me. I am neither so vain, nor so foolish as to imagine for a moment, that the great honour bestowed upon me is intended for a personal distinction. I am under no such delusion. I am fully conscious that it is the democratic spirit of this National organization which has in its natural evolution sought to vindicate itself by drawing out an old servant of the cause from his retirement in an obscure corner of the country to fill the presidential chair in the dim twilight of the evening of his life.

Re-united Congress.

Gentlemen, even the darkest cloud is said to have its silver lining, and in this vale of sorrow, there is hardly any misfortune which has not both a positive and a negative side. If the United Congress was buried in the debris of the old French Garden at Surat, it is re-born today in the Kaiser Bagh of Lucknow, the garden of the gorgeous king Wajed Ali Shah. After

nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realize the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers and embraced each other with the gush and ardour, peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation. Blessed are the peace-makers. Honour, all honour to those who in this suicidal civil war held the olive branch of peace, and glory to the patriotic good sense of the belligerents on both sides who having realized their true position and responsibility have at a psychological moment so wisely buried their hatchets and closed their ranks. There are occasional differences even in the best regulated families and how much wider must be the scope of differences in the vast political field of a country like ours where the people have so little of the power of initiation in their hands and where the causes of misunderstanding and consequent vexation and disappointment are so numerous and so irritating. I most cordially welcome Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. Motilal Ghose and other brave comrades who separated from us at Surat and have been happily restored to us at Lucknow. I rejoice to find that they are after all 'of us' and 'with us' and let us hope never, never to part again.

Presidential Pronouncement.

Gentlemen, you naturally expect every year your President to make a clear and emphatic pronouncement, but you cannot expect your presidents—no, not even the tallest among them—to work miracles for you in a three days' session. The ideal of the Congress has long been well-defined, and no new ideas are

needed either to amplify or illustrate it, nor are fresh ideas as abundant as blackberries so that whoever passes by may pick up any number of them. The country has a number of grievances and the Congress has made certain demands to remove them. It has also decided that it shall use none but constitutional methods for the fulfilment of its demands. Your presidents can only perform the function of the air-man by taking a survey of the hostile positions, marking the points of relative strength and weakness and signalling the lines of attack; but, after all, you are the gunners who have to fix your batteries, take your aim and actively work at the machines. Your president's pronouncement even at its best can only be a faithful echo of the prevailing sentiments of the country. Lord Morley complained that he could not give us the moon, but we were never so moon-struck as to ask for the moon and his Lordship need have no fears that he has given us something more substantial than mere moon-shine. Gentlemen, it will be my most earnest endeavour to throw some little light on some of the phases of the present situation, and if I cannot present to you even the faint light of the 'Aurora borealis' I shall certainly not presume to allure you by raising to your mind's eye the treacherously dancing flashes of the 'Will-o'-the-wisp.' Gentlemen, if you have this time gone a little out of your way in choosing your president, that president may be permitted to go a little out of the way of all past precedents in addressing you on the present occasion. I propose to confine myself mainly to one question which is the all-absorbing topic of the day—the question of Self-Government for India. It is an all-embracing problem to the solution of which all other subsidiary questions are mere corollaries. If this one problem could be solved, the other problems would solve themselves. But before we proceed to discuss this question,

we must have a clear idea of the form of Government under which we are placed, the defects of that form of Government, the disabilities which we suffer therefrom, the system of Government that we want as a substitute for it and our capacity to receive such a substitute.

The Form of Government We Live In.

D e s p o t i s m.

It is now a matter of history that when a company of merchants introduced British rule in India in the middle of the 18th century, it was an absolutely despotic form of Government that was established in the country. Having regard to the unsettled state of the country and the internal dissensions and disputes not only among the different communities, but also among the people of the same community, any other form of Government would perhaps have been impossible at that time. A despotic form of Government is not necessarily synonymous with a bad government, but a beneficent despotism is of the exception and not of the rule. It is not every age or every country that can produce a Rama or a Harun-ul-Rashid, a Charlemagne or an Akbar. The Government of the East India Company over which the British Parliament exercised little or no control, and the so-called Board of Control, very little supervision except for their own interest, was marked by despotism and at its later stage by corruption. In spite of repeated warnings of Parliament, education was neglected, justice was perfunctorily administered and the strong were permitted with impunity to oppress the weak. The Company which had developed small factories into vast territories naturally regarded their unprecedented acquisition as a huge commercial enterprise and considered the sovereign administration of the country as of lesser importance than the develop-

ment of their trade and the increase of their profits. They viewed their own interests more than the interests of the people. It is a wonder that such a system of Government could have lasted so long and surely it lasted long enough to meet with a violent end.

Benevolent Despotism.

After hundred years of mis-rule it was at last overthrown by a military rising which transferred the Government of the country from the Company to the Crown. From this time a system of Government was established in the country which gave altogether a new complexion to the administration. This Government was designated a 'benevolent despotism'—an expression which though not exactly a contradiction in terms, was sufficient to indicate that the form of Government was still essentially a despotism, though tempered by generous and benevolent considerations. It was this Government which actuated by its benevolent intentions, introduced, by slow degrees, various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalized the administration and widened the views and deepened the loyalty of the people. It fostered liberal education, established justice, created public confidence in the integrity of the administration and restored peace and order throughout the country. In its gradual development it introduced, though in a limited form, Self-Government in the local concerns of the people, admitted the children of the soil to a limited extent into the administration of the country and reformed the Councils by introducing an appreciable element of representation in them. It has annihilated time and space by the construction of railways and the establishment of telegraphic communication throughout the country. It has established a form of administration which in its integrity and purity can well vie with any other civilized

country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was until recently a boon of which any people may justly be proud. All this a 'benevolent despotism' has accomplished.

Bureaucracy.

But here it stopped and after having exhausted all the resources which a personal benevolence could supply, it has slowly and imperceptibly yielded to the infirmities of its nature, and by a process of natural evolution has resolved itself into a system of barren and sterilizing bureaucracy. Despotism has done in this country what despotism has done elsewhere, and if it has failed to do more it is because its nature could not have permitted it to do more. In the exercise of its beneficent influence it reached a stage and attained a height beyond which it was not possible for despotism to ascend. The bureaucracy which now rules the country is despotism condensed and crystalized. In it the Service is so firmly and indissolubly combined with the State that for all practical purposes the one may be said to be completely merged in the other—a combination which is infinitely more dangerous than the combination of the Judicial and the Executive functions of which we have heard so much. It is certainly not accountable to the people, and the service and the state being one and the same it is responsible only to itself. It is essentially conservative in its temperament and thoroughly unprogressive in its character. Its efficiency is indisputable, its honesty and integrity beyond all question; but it is bound hand and foot to form a precedent lacking in life and soul. It can contract but it cannot expand.

It holds all the threads of the administration, within the hollow of its palm and can ill afford either to release or to relax any one of them. It is extremely jealous of its powers and intolerant of criticism. It

sincerely wishes to see the people happy and contented, only it cannot allow them to grow. It has its idea of beauty and its Chinese shoe to give effect to it, however painful to its subject the operation may be. Like Narcissus of old it is so much entranced with the loveliness of its own shadow that it has neither the leisure nor the inclination to contemplate beauty in others.

The New Spirit.

But the people have completely outgrown this system and a new spirit has arisen in the country. Call it visionary, call it impatient idealism, call it intoxication if you choose, that spirit is the manifestation of a democratic force which is transforming the destinies of an old world to new order of things. Under the pressure of this irresistible force time-honoured kingdoms and constitutions are crumbling to pieces and giving place to new ones, and hereditary monarchs of ancient and even celestial origin are quietly taking their exit, as on a stage, without shedding a tear or a drop of blood. Portugal, Turkey, Persia and China—all have felt the breath of this force. It is agitating Egypt, and is pulsating the life of India. In India it has fortunately been of normal growth. This new spirit may be impulsive, but it is perfectly genuine and intensely patriotic. If sympathetically treated it may be directed in a proper channel, but it would be unwise either to ignore or try to repress it. Old ideas are changing faster than one can realize and it is no fault of the Indian people if they are unable to reconcile themselves to a patriarchal or a paternal form of Government. The present form of Government, whatever its claims for the maintenance of an orderly administration may be, is more or less an anachronism. Sir Henry Cotton, who recalls with just pride that for three generations his family has been associated with the bureaucratic service in

India, said that 'the Indian Civil Service, as at present constituted, is doomed.' While still in service he formulated a scheme of reconstruction which the Indian Public Service Commission of 1887 considered as 'visionary.' Now that another Royal Commission has been appointed to enquire into the Indian Public Services, Sir Henry Cotton has again returned to the charge. Writing in the 'Contemporary Review' and commenting on the terms of reference to the Commission, which apparently assume the existing constitution as the permanent basis of Indian administration, Sir Henry Cotton says,—'But what is wanted now is no scheme for bolstering up the decaying fabric of a service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return.

In a despotic form of Government everything is done for the people and nothing by the people. Its greatest drawback is that it makes the people whom it governs impotent to help themselves. It may make a people perfectly happy but it cannot make them resourceful nor even contented, self-reliant and manly in their life and conduct. Such a people must always be a burden to the State, and the 'white man's burden' of which we hear so much is the creation of this despotic form of Government, and those who complain of India being a 'nuisance of the Empire' ought to remember that it is the accumulated errors of this form of Government during the last hundred and fifty years and more. Even in a benevolent despotism there is but one patriot and that patriot is either the despot or the close bureaucracy in which the Government is vested. As in a patriarchal family, the subjects of a despotic Government are of a stunted growth and are all more or less like spoiled children incapable of either helping themselves or helping the Pater familia.

Bureaucracy Nearing Its End.

But to its credit it must be recorded that this benevolent despotism has done one thing—it has prepared its own coffin and has written on it its own epitaph with its own hand. Despotism was wholly repugnant to the British instinct and entirely foreign to the British Constitution, and what it did, therefore, was to prepare a curious admixture of two incongruous substances, a bureaucratic constitution leavened with democratic ideas, which can never coalesce but can serve only to neutralize each other. Paradoxical as it may seem and strange as it may sound, this despotism has throughout consciously or unconsciously and perhaps in fits of absent-mindedness, worked up to its own subversion, and like the fabulous Phoenix, in anticipation of its allotted cycle of years, prepared its own nest of spices, set fire to it and flapped that fire into a flame with its own wings singing its melodious song to consume itself into ashes of which to rise again in a glorious rebirth. From the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Morley's Reform of 1909, the British Parliament has not taken a single step which was not calculated finally to overthrow this despotic form of Government. The education given to the people, the system of local self-government introduced into the country and the elective principle recognized in the higher Councils of the Empire have all tended to undermine the old system of Government which it would be a vain attempt now either to rebuild or to repair.

A Chapter of Mistakes.

The bureaucracy have, however, discovered the mistakes of their predecessors. But it is not as easy to rectify as to discover mistakes. We too may have discovered many a mistake of our grandfathers. But what avails it to cry over spilt milk? It is more than vaguely

suggested that it was a mistake to have opened the eyes of the Indian people. I fully admit that from the point of view of these critics it was a great mistake—the greatest indeed ever committed by a despotic Government, benevolent or otherwise. It was a great mistake to have issued the Education Despatch of 1854, and it was a great blunder to have confirmed that mistake by establishment of Universities at Calcutta in 1857, at Bombay and Madras in 1858, at Lahore in 1882 and at Allahabad in 1887. It was a mistake to have granted liberty to the press and freedom of speech throughout the country, it was a mistake to have introduced local self-government in 1884, and it was a greater mistake to have reformed the Councils in 1903 and again in 1910. It is a chapter, nay a whole volume of mistakes which have been committed by successive parliaments and administrations which, I am afraid, it is too late either to amend or to rectify. It is the instinct of the British people and the spirit of the British constitution which led the British Parliament to this long series of mistakes. But there has always been a counteracting force in India, and for aught we know, but for these mistakes both India and England might have met with greater difficulties. In recent years there has always been a tendency to cry ‘halt’ and every step forced upon the bureaucracy in the forward march by the irresistible current of events has been followed by a paroxysm of regret, and all that the Government has been able to do to retain its ancient character and at the same time to keep pace with the pressing demands of the ceaseless march of time has invariably presented the appearance of the texture of the faithful Penelope unravelling by night what is woven by day. Vain attempts are these. The tide has set in and it will not roll back under any human command. You may and have to adjust and re-adjust your wind-mill occa-

sionally, but you cannot turn back the course of the river. The best and only remedy therefore now is not to go back but to press forward, not to cling to an obsolete and worn out institution which is no longer suited to the present condition of the country, but firmly and cautiously adapt the constitution to the requirements of the time and adjust it to the growing demands of the people. Every declaration made by the Government, every report of commissions and committees, having a bearing upon the present unrest and every legislative measure passed to cope with the disturbed state of the country bear testimony to the fact that there is a struggle going on between a benevolent despotism and an overgrown people which with all their defects and shortcomings are no longer satisfied with the present system. On the one hand, there is manifested in almost every direction a marked tendency in the people to break through the leading strings by which they have been held so long and assert their constitutional rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire, and on the other hand, there is an equally persistent attempts on the part of the bureaucracy to maintain its prestige and authority.

A Conflict.

It is a case of clear conflict between the forces of an old constitution and the new spirit, and as the inevitable result of such a conflict, a state of things has arisen for which neither may be wholly responsible, but from which both have equally to suffer, although the presumption in such a case is always in favour of the people according to all political philosophers. 'I am not one of those,' says Burke, 'who think that the people are never wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers the presumption is at least upon a par in

favour of the people.' In quoting this dictum of Burke with approbation Lord Morley who has recently dealt more with India than any other living British statesman, adds—'Nay experience perhaps justifies him in going further. When popular discontents are prevalent, something has generally been found amiss in the constitution or the administration.' And truly does Burke observe 'The people have no interest in disorder. When they go wrong it is their error and not their crime.' Then the great political philosopher continues in the words of Sully which his biographer passionately enjoins that 'both practical politicians and political students should bind about their necks, and write upon the tables of their hearts.'—'The revolutions that come to pass in great states are not the result of chance, nor of popular caprice. * * * * As for the populace it is never from a passion that it rebels but from impatience of sufferings.' It is in the nature of a bureaucratic administration to have absolute confidence in its own judgment and little respect for the opinions of others. The British Government, as established in India at the present day, has no doubt long ceased to be an absolute despotism, nor can it be described as a popular Government. A cursory examination of its politics and its practices will disclose the nature of this conflict and the stage at which it has arrived due as much to the process of natural evolution as to the legitimate sequence of events to which that policy has so largely contributed. Gentlemen, be it understood that we are here to criticise Government and not to sing its praises. If, therefore, we have more to refer to its defects and short-comings it is not to be presumed that we are wholly insensible to its many good points or are unable to appreciate them. Nor do I feel pressed to enter upon any vindication of our loyalty to the Throne as it is above all cavil or criticism.

Education.

To take up the question of education first, as it is the foremost problem in the evolution of a nation. Ever since the Crown took up the reins of government it was actuated by a broad and liberal policy of educating the people and elevating them in the scale of nations. Worried and wearied with the evasive policy of the East India Company, the Board of Control under the guidance of a farsighted statesman, Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, issued the memorable Dispatch of 1854, which is now known as the great charter of Education in India. In pursuance to this Dispatch, a University was established in 1857 in the then capital of the Empire.

But the mutiny having broken out almost simultaneously a pretext was easily found to propose a change of policy. Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, came to the rescue and in a letter to Lord Ellenborough, who was then the President of the Board of Control, neatly disposed of the objections raised. Sir Frederick wrote:—‘On the question of the connection between education and the rebellion, our wisdom, no less than our duty, is to persevere in what we have begun and not to turn our backs upon Behar or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain, however, that both the difficulty and the danger are exaggerated and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and misinformation. As to difficulty, the progress of Bengal, within the memory of living witnesses, is a proof of the aptitude of the people and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of

similar consequences in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gun-powder to all kinds of dangerous influences and having by good luck, and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident, should at last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gun-powder nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of the many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences.' No more statesmanlike view of the situation, or a more crushing reply, could have been advanced, and the Government of Lord Canning made a firm stand against the hysteric cry of an alarmist crowd. In 1858 two more Universities were established in Bombay and Madras, and in the following year another Dispatch was issued under the authority of the Crown re-affirming the great Dispatch of 1854 and laying down in clear and emphatic terms that greater impetus should be given to education in the future than had been done in the past, that more colleges and schools should be established throughout the country, that more systematic and sustained efforts should be made for the education of the masses, and that an unstinted measure of encouragement should be extended to private enterprise towards the furtherance of education by state-grants and scholarships. It has to be noticed that having regard to the aptitude of the people and to the extraordinary zeal and eagerness evinced by them for the spread of education, it was further laid down, that Government should be reluctant to open Government institutions whenever private institutions could be expected or encouraged to do the work. Lord Ripon considering the inadequate number of Universities, conceived the idea of adding two more Universi-

ties, one of which he himself established at Lahore in 1882 and the other was established by his successor at Allahabad in 1887.

But here dropped the curtain over the educational progress of India. The growing clamour of the people for increased rights and privileges and their incessant demand for participation in the administration of the country led a nervous bureaucracy to regard education in the same light as it was regarded in 1857. The people having their minds and ideas expanded by western education were aspiring to western institutions. It was indeed the dawning of 'the proudest day of England' which Macaulay in his prophetic vision had foreseen and anticipated nearly seventy years before. But unfortunately for India and England with the advent of Lord Curzon the educational policy of the Government underwent a marked transformation.

Lord Curzon came in 1899 with twelve problems in his pocket for the execution of which he obtained unfortunately for himself as well as for India a further extension of his office during which the 'brilliant Viceroy' in the name of efficiency, set back the hand of progress in almost every direction, education receiving his foremost attention. It was a veritable Pandora's Box that he carried which let loose all the forces of unrest, dislocating the existing order of things, reversing past policies and filling the minds of the people with concern and anxiety, hope alone remaining. Here were sown the seeds of that discontent which a Milton might well have invoked his muse to sing and from which both the Government and the country have been reaping so abundantly. His educational policy of 1902 culminating in the Indian Universities Act of 1904 dealt a death-blow to the further expansion of education and by its stringent rules and regulations sapped all indigenous enterprise for its further development. It

was argued that the previous policy had served to extend the surface at the sacrifice of depth, and that a shearing process was necessary to check all superfluous growth. Pruning is undoubtedly good, but the use of the pruning knife on a growing plant before it has put forth abundant leaves and branches is an operation which is calculated more to destroy than to improve. In a country which, with the exception of Russia, is larger than the continent of Europe, there are now no more than 150 colleges of all sorts and a little over 1300 high schools and 127,000 primary schools for the education of the masses for a population of over 255 millions, and yielding a percentage of barely 7 literate men out of this vast population. It may be noted here that two-thirds of these colleges and three-fourths of the high schools are private institutions. This is the sum-total of educational progress made under a benevolent despotism during a period of 160 years and imagination fails to pierce into the dim and distant future when even half the population of this vast continent shall be so far advanced as to be able to read and write their names. That is how education stands in the country after more than one and half a century of British rule, and yet a modest Bill introduced by a Congressman for elementary education was thrown out with a few complimentary platitudes. The people demand a general diffusion of elementary education for the mass as preferable to no education, while Government insists upon better education for a few rather than wide-spread light for the many..

The Administration.

The next point of conflict lies in the administration itself. It is a preposterous attempt to compel a child to lisp when he is able to speak and force him to crawl on his knees when he is able to walk on his legs. It

is no rebellion in the adult members of a family to exercise their discretion and judgment and even to interfere, to some extent, in the management of its affairs, and a reasonable 'Pater familia' ought cheerfully to accept a change which is calculated only to relieve and not to dethrone him. What is true of a family is also true of a paternal government. A government must always conform itself to its changing environments and adapt itself to the ideas and requirements of the community which it is called upon to govern. The highest claim of British rule in India is not founded upon its military strength but upon its moral grandeur. Security of life and property is no doubt one of the highest attributes of a settled government but this attribute is more or less to be found among backward, uncivilized governments anxious for their own existence. As men are born free they naturally value their life and liberty infinitely more than their property. For property is a man's accident, while liberty is his birth-right. The greatest defect in the administration of criminal justice in this country lies in the fusion and combination of the judicial and the executive functions—a system in which the prosecutor and the judge, the man who works up a charge and the man who sits in judgment over that charge are rolled into one. For thirty years the Congress has cried hoarse for the separation of this unholy combination, hundreds of cases from unimpeachable and unchallenged records have been cited from year to year to illustrate the baneful results of the system which is calculated more than anything else, to shake the confidence of the people in the integrity of the administration of justice. Cases have occurred—and they are not few and far between—where racial considerations have outweighed the demands of justice, and the life of an Indian has not received greater consideration than of a crab or a

tortoise. There are of course men who are strong enough to challenge and drive discontent underground but no one has power to see underground and watch the secret progress which such discontent silently works in its subterranean course. If this one reform had been carried out one half of the causes of the present discontent would have vanished, and it is just possible that the ugly developments with which the Government is at present confronted might never have appeared.

The Press And The Liberty Of The Press.

The next point of conflict between the bureaucracy and the people has reference to the Liberty of the Press. The press is entirely a Western institution so firmly ingrafted with Western education and incorporated with Western methods of administration, that it is now impossible to retain the one and remove the other. In every civilized country the press has played the double role of the educator of the public and the interpreter to the Government. In India the Press, with all its defects and lapses, as well as its numerous difficulties and disabilities, has played an important part in the evolution of National life, and its chequered history is no mean evidence of the firm hold it has over the public mind and the sustaining energies of a growing people. It is not necessary to pursue that history. Suffice it to say that since the repeal of Lord Lytton's Gagging Act of 1878 the Indian Press steadily grew into a power which with a little more sympathetic treatment might easily have been converted into a useful adjunct of the administration. Unfortunately, however, the Anglo-Indian Press began to be jealous of its formidable rival and the bureaucracy grew nervous of its strength. An ugly development for which the Indian Press was no more responsible than for the col-

lision which took place at this time between the Com-pertown and the Victoria in the Atlantic, furnished an excuse and afforded an opportunity for again muzzling the Press in a way unprecedented in the history of any civilized country where a public Press exists. The Press Act of 1910 conceived in a spirit of repression has reduced the Indian Press from its position as an independent critic of the Government to that of an institution entirely dependent upon sufferance. Within this short period of less than seven years there has been a regular carnival of Press prosecutions in which newspapers have been suppressed, printing presses confiscated and their securities forfeited to an extent which has bewildered the public and alarmed the journalists. According to a statement furnished by Sir Reginald Craddock in February last there were no less than six press prosecutions and in no less than five cases securities of newspapers were enhanced and no less than two hundred and twenty newspapers, both English and vernacular, ceased publication since the outbreak of the war and up to that date. The liberty of the Indian Press is practically gone and the highest tribunals in the land have declared themselves powerless to protect it. And last, not least, an extraordinary woman, Irish by birth, English by marriage and Indian by adoption, has been caught in the meshes of this Act, and the provisions of the Defence Act are set in operation to coerce and restrain her. One Government has under cover of the latter interdicted Mrs. Besant from profaning its sacred territories with the touch of her feet, while another Government, acting under the former, not content with forfeiting the security of an old press, has demanded an exorbitant security for her paper which threatens it with extinction. Gentlemen, how fast doth contagion spread! Before I could finish writing these pages another Government

has issued orders prohibiting her at the eleventh hour not to attend a religious conference held within its territories. I should not be surprised if the British public were to doubt the accuracy of this statement. The same excuse offered by the C. P. Government for its extraordinary action has, however, failed to satisfy the Indian public. Mrs. Besant is as yet free—I use the word subject to correction—to live in British India and to travel over British India, but not to cross the Vindhya Chains and touch the sacred soil of Bombay and the Central Provinces. Are Bombay and the Central Provinces outside British India? She is charged by the Madras Government with matter seditious printed at her press. The Madrass High Court has distinctly found that there was nothing seditious in her writing. Two High Courts have concurrently held that there may be illegal forfeitures under this Act and yet they were powerless to grant any relief. The appellate powers of the High Courts under the Act are a delusion and a snare. Yet there seems to be no disposition on the part of the Government either to withdraw or to modify this retrograde measure, although where a necessity for the bureaucracy arises a Bill may be passed at one sitting of the Council and a Validating Act rushed through to legalize its illegal proceedings. We may not see eye to eye with Mrs. Besant in many matters, but our hearts go forth to her in her trials and tribulations which not only affect her personal interests but are also a standing menace to the liberties of the Indian subjects of his Majesty. What is Mrs. Besant's offense? Is it that she loves India as she loves her own native land? What is her offence? Is it that her womanly instinct has led her to raise her manly voice in defence of the rights and liberties of a subject race, whose present condition, as contrasted with its ancient civilization and departed glories, has

found a place in her sympathies and got a hold upon her imagination, to which many people of her race are either blind or impervious? The days of chivalry are gone and even womanhood is no protection against bureaucratic insensibilities. If she is seditious, why not try her for sedition in an open court where, if convicted, she will cease to be idolized as a martyr? I hope the matter will not rest here, but will be carried beyond the seas and heard in a free country and by a free people before whose tribunal even an heir-apparent to the Throne bows as low as the humblest subject of the realm to receive his judgment. The shrieks of a dying press, which have been so far drowned in the tumults of a devastating war, will not then go altogether unheeded. Laws may be enacted here to stifle the voice of public opinion, but a great nation nurtured on the lap of freedom cannot long tolerate a method of administration which is so entirely repugnant to its instinct and tradition. It only requires to be correctly informed and duly impressed. It may be difficult to move it; but once in motion even the omnipotent power of the bureaucracy will not avail to arrest its onward march towards the establishment of freedom in this land.

The Arms Act.

The Indian Arms Act is another source of irritation which has estranged the feeling between the people and the governing class. Apart from the invidious and irritating character of this measure it has emasculated a whole nation, degraded them not only in their own estimation, but also in the estimation of other races not in any way superior to them and reduced them to a condition of absolute helplessness. It has stunted the growth of a people, dwarfed its mental stature and debased its moral character, by depriving it of its sense of national self-respect. It has reduced it to

the position of political pariahs smarting under disgrace and without any sense of responsibility. Maharajah Jabbar Jung Behadur may not carry a single revolver for his own protection; but his driver Jones may have any number of them for his pastime, for purpose of illicit sale, and for shooting not only pheasants but also sometimes a poor Indian peasant whom he may easily mistake for a pig. But all bad measures are like the devil's engine which must at one time or other recoil back on him who uses it, and this is what has happened. It is as easy to govern a country by disarming its entire population as to convert a whole country into a jail. Anarchism has reared its head and there has been a recrudescence of lawlessness in some part of the country. Dastardly assassinations are committed in crowded cities in broad daylight and daring robberies are committed like candle light performances in an opera house. The reply to all this which has so far been vouchsafed, is that the people are cowards and are unable to help themselves. But whose fault is it if the people are cowards and unable to help themselves? Is it of the people who have been made cowards and helpless, or of those who have made them so? It is quite refreshing to hear of people seriously advised to arm themselves with brickbats and bamboo lathies to face an armed band of robbers and assassins equipped with Martini rifles and Mauser revolvers. Example is said to be better than precept, and those who indulge in ludicrous advice of this sort would do infinitely better to set an example themselves before they can persuade others to follow them. Even Hercules did not venture to challenge the Larnian Hydra without his club. The Arms Act has been practically reduced to a dead letter, for the lawless few are never in want of any firearms, but it is the law-abiding many that have been deprived of the use of them. A great

empire and a little mind are said to go ill together. And where the spirit of confidence is wanting in an administration its means and measures must be weak and self-contradictory and thus ultimately defeating its own end.

The Defence of India Act and Internments.

And now, where other repressive measures have failed to restore peace and order in the country a deadlier instrument has been put into requisition. A desperate situation no doubt calls for a drastic remedy and no one has a right to complain if Government is obliged to take an extreme precautionary measure in view of a conflagration which is now devastating all the five continents of the world. The Defence of India Act like the Defence of the Realm Act in England was no doubt necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, but the purposes to which it is being used appear to be entirely foreign to the spirit and outside the scope of this extraordinary enactment, while the safeguards provided in the home-measure have been wholly dispensed with in its operation in this country. Again, when the Act was passed an assurance was not wanting that it would be administered with great care and consideration. It was undoubtedly an emergency Act necessitated by the extraordinary circumstances which suspended the ordinary course of law and vested the administration of justice in certain cases entirely in the executive Government of the country.

Gentlemen, the sting of every repressive measure is in its tail. There is a small clause in these enactments which passes without any debate in the Legislative Council authorising the executive Government to frame rules to give effect to the operation of such a measure. These rules, hatched in secret, beyond the ken of the established legislature and beyond the scope of public

criticism, suddenly emanate full panoplied like Minerva springing out of Jupiter's head. These rules sometimes thrice the size and volume of the Act itself, govern the proceedings. In the case of the Defence of India Act, section 2 provides this brief little authority which is now deciding the fate not only of so many young men but also of some of the public men in the country without a trial and without a hearing. But how sad it is to contemplate that it has been so widely diverted from its legitimate scope, and how are its provisions being applied in India! A secret murder perpetrated and burglary committed and in fact every piece of a diabolical crime, whether committed before or after the outbreak of hostilities, where the criminals cannot be detected and punished under the ordinary law of the land, are made the occasion for the use of this lawless law. Where an accused person is tried and acquitted by a court of justice he is good for a capture under the provisions of this Act. In one province alone nearly 600 young men have up to this time been arrested, a considerable number of whom have already been domiciled in different parts of the country, while others are passing through their purgatory in the gloomy cells of Dallanda House preparatory to the receipt of their judgment.

The Colour Bar.

An almost insurmountable colour bar has been drawn up that runs through almost every department of the state which the children of the soil are forbidden to cross. The entire administration is divided into two compartments, one Imperial and the other Provincial. The boxes are all reserved and it is only the pit which is open to the people. In the Civil Service, in the Educational Service and in the Medical Service—everywhere there is a sharp racial distinction irrespective of quali-

fication and competency, which is as arbitrary as it is galling to the feelings and sentiments of the people. Competition, the most effective test of merit, has been superseded by nomination, and offices are largely distributed as mere patronage. The services are visibly deteriorating and strange as it may sound, a Government which finds in the caste system of the people such a serious obstacle to their national advancement is sedulously building up an official caste almost as rigid and as exclusive as the Brahmanical hierarchy ever was. The officials have generally lost all touch with the people and there is now no greater passport to public employment than a hereditary claim which grows by what it feeds on. Fusion is the first principle of national growth, but disintegration is the policy of a bureaucracy to counteract that growth.

Emigration.

Gentlemen, it is with a sense of pain, shame and humiliation that I approach the question of emigration and indentured labour. India, the granary of the world, is unable to maintain her surplus population and thousands of her children, like her raw materials, are sent away to other countries for employment for the bare necessities of life. The immigrants, so absolutely necessary for the development of the resources of South Africa, Australia and Canada, are treated there as helots and India is regarded today throughout the civilized world as the recruiting ground for 'coolies' necessary for manual labour. I do not hesitate to denounce this degrading system as the last relic of slavery within the British Empire. Lord Gladstone in opening the Parliament of the South African Union only a few years ago reminded them of this fact and bore striking testimony to the worth of the Indian people. He said,— 'I have made special study of the Indian history and

have later visited India. I wish more South Africans could go there and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what the Indians were. They would then think less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African Coast. In fact, India has developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of British Empire in its civilization and efforts to rise a higher life.' But what avails such testimony? Slaves at home can never be treated as free men abroad. I use the word in the sense in which Mill has used it. 'They are slaves,' says Mill, 'who cannot help themselves.' Complete reciprocity and retaliation are the only remedies for this degrading humiliation inflicted upon our people, and Home Rule alone can furnish the necessary prescription. So long as the Canadian, the South African and the Australian are free to settle in India and also to find their way to the public services of the country, no tinkering measure, no controlling wages will solve the question.

Industrial Development.

The question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties, and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Amidst all the disquisitions and speculations which have gathered round the question there looms large one fact which can neither be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government which India does not. In Japan there is no clashing of interest between the people and the State, but in India although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its in-

dustrial policy is to a large extent controlled by considerations independent of the interest of India.

The great highways of trade and commerce are public domain and belong to the state. To transfer them to any private individual or individuals or to allow them to manage them may be an act amounting to a serious infringement of public rights and an abdication of a state function. We are looking forward to a time when the Government will become national if not in its personnel at least in its aims and purposes and the railways owned by the state and controlled by the state will then be conducted upon national lines and will be the hand-maid of the national industries by offering facilities for their growth and development. The time has come for the definite acceptance of this policy.

A National Militia.

Gentlemen, no people can be either self-respecting or respected by others unless they are able to defend themselves. A people always dependent upon Government for the safety of their life and property must be an intolerable burden on the state and a source of weakness to it. A vast empire like British India without a National army, protected by a nominal force of 70 thousand European soldiers and 140 thousand Indian troops may be a wonderful feat; but it is a most dangerous experiment. If the Indians were trained but as volunteers only five years, although the Congress has been demanding the privilege for the last twenty-five years, the humiliating spectacle of Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George and Lord Derby alternately coaxing and threatening the British people for raising an army of two millions might easily have been avoided and at all events a general conscription, so distasteful to British tradition, might not have today become such an imperative necessity. India, with her teeming millions

properly trained and equipped, standing behind England can present an invincible front against any power in the world. The question is not one of men and materials, but of trust and confidence. But has not India given sufficient proof of her fidelity and devotion to the British connection? If not, England must stand self-condemned before the eyes of the civilized world.

Such is the situation. Bureaucracy has accomplished its work. It has established order and tranquility. But it has outgrown itself. Its continued existence is fraught with mischief and unable to cope with the rising forces of popular opinion and with the demands created with the new spirit, it has had recourse to a policy which has excited grave public discontent. What then is to be the remedy? That remedy is what has been so affectively applied in other countries similarly circumstanced; and the remedy which suggests itself to the Indian mind, as it occurred to John Stuart Mill and to Edmund Burke, lies in the grant of

Representative Government.

Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it 'Swaraj,' call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of an evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882 when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helplessness of their situation. A National League was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the 'Star in East' was issued which was written in a style and language which if employed at the present day would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when in his famous Resolution of January 1882 he told the people that 'local self-government must precede national self-government.' Although the first

Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was 'indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution.' And Mrs. Annie-Besant in her admirable book, 'How India Wrought for Freedom,' has pointedly referred to the utterance of the grand Old Man of India which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for self-government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet call for 'Swaraj' which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole- and whole-hearted demand is nothing short of self-government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has, however, been raised that we are not yet fit for self-government. Procrastination is the proverbial trief of time. It is also the orthodox plea of a frame of mind which, unable to cope with an untenable position, only asks for an adjournment to seek for a compromise on the most favourable terms.

'Not Yet.'

There are however those who say 'not yet.' Not yet! Then 'when'?—asks the Indian Nationalist. But here the Oracle is dumb and Echo only answers—'when'! Edwin Bevan's parable of the patient and the 'steel frame' is cited and people are strictly enjoined to lie

in peace and possess their souls in patience until their political Nirvan is accomplished. Similies and metaphors are not safe guides in practical life, for all fables are but fallacies clothed in equivocal language which captivates the imagination and deludes the reason. For even the patient in the 'steel frame' requires a gradual relaxation and occasional readjustment of his splints and bandages and, above all, steady, substantial improvement in his dietary arrangements, as after all it is the food and nourishment and not the splints and bandages, that are calculated to give him strength and cure him of his injuries. You cannot indefinitely keep him on milk and sago to help either the 'knitting of the bones' or the 'granulation of the flesh.' Our critics however enjoin 'perfect quiet and repose' without prescribing any kind of diet until the people shall have in their spirit of quiescence fully recovered themselves in their steel frame. If any illustration were actually needed, one might fairly suggest that the case of either the swimmer or the rider would probably furnish a more opposite object lesson. You cannot expect the one to be an expert jockey without training him on the back of a horse, as you cannot expect the other to be an expert swimmer without allowing him to go into water. There must be repeated falls and duckings before any efficiency can be attained by either. Adjudice in such an admission—that the Indians are not yet as fit for self-government as the Europeans are, does it follow that they must only patiently contemplate in their steel frame without a stir till the day of their release? If that be so the day of their redemption will, in all probability, maintain its ever receding distance and the vision of the patient never realized. There is a school for the lawyer, physician, the educationist and the engineer where he can obtain his passport and begin his profession; but is there any school or college

where an aspirant can be admitted to his degree for Self-Government? It is through Self-Government that the art of Self-Government can be either taught or acquired. One must be drilled in the art of administration before he can acquire the steady use of his faculties in the work of practical administration. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, it is the institution of Self-Government which constitutes the best training ground for Self-Government. It is through failure that success can be achieved in practical politics. Such failure was fully anticipated by Lord Ripon in his famous Resolution of 1882, and it is through such failures that the British people have obtained the constitution of which they are so justly proud. In the reigns of James I, Charles I and his successors, what was the British constitution and the status of the British people when Parliament could be summoned or dismissed at the pleasure of a despotic sovereign and titles and offices were freely bought and sold without any regard to public interest? The mass of the people were steeped in ignorance, while the highest officers in the State were not sometimes free from intrigue and corruption. Yet, the British people fought for their rights and liberties and obtained them in the midst of the unfavourable conditions. If they had ever allowed themselves to be kept in a steel frame until 'nature resumed her active process,' where would have been the splendid fabric of British constitutional freedom today? Nature never helps those who do not help themselves.

Are Indians Fit for Self-Government?

Now let us turn to a discussion of the rider which was started at the beginning of this question. Gentlemen, our critics have already begun sorting our politicians. I do not pretend to be a politician; but even if I were one, I would far rather go with the 'poli-

ticians of the baser sort' than agree to rise one degree higher, or one degree lower as you may choose to call it, in the estimation of our critics, while as to the superlative degree I would ungrudgingly have it reserved for those who have so far forgotten the traditions of their own race as to completely divest themselves of the instincts of a free and liberty-loving people to which they ethnologically belong. The question to be answered is,—Have the Indian people given fair proof of their capacity for self-government? I do not like to indulge in theories: Let facts answer.

In the Native States.

India possesses an area of 1,800,000 square miles with a population of 316 millions, of which over 700,000 square miles, or more than one-third of this area, with a population of over 70 millions, or close upon one-fourth, belong to the independent Native States. Now these States are entirely managed by Indian administrators, and it has to be admitted that some of them are marching ahead of British India in certain directions, particularly in respect of education, judicial reforms and industrial development which are the most sacred functions of a constitutional Government. It must be borne in mind that not a few of these distinguished administrators who have achieved such brilliant results in the administration of these states are sometimes drawn from his Majesty's subjects in British India. Men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Rao Bahadur Sardar Sansar Chandra Sen, Dewan Bahadur Raghoonath Rao, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, Sir Sashiah Shastri, Mr. Ranga Charlu, Mr. Gouri Shankar Ojha, Mr. Seshadri Aiyer, Mr. B. L. Gupta, Mr. Nilambar Mukherjee and Mr. A. R. Banerjee who have governed various Native States with such consummate ability and conspicuous

success, have indisputably vindicated the capacity of their countrymen for the highest administrative offices. They have shown that if commanded by their Sovereign they were fit to hold any portfolio in the Government of India. If these distinguished administrators had their lot cast solely in British India, many of them would have in all probability ended their careers as deputy-magistrates, a few as district officers and fewer still as officiating commissioners of divisions.

An Inarticulate Mass and the Educated Community a Bug-Bear.

The most orthodox argument, in fact the only argument, now advanced against this natural and legitimate demand is, that the mass are silent and have not joined in the cry. This is an ingenuous argument; for an inarticulate mass will never speak and the reforms will not come. But have the mass at any time and in any country spoken out before any reform has been granted? The hydra-headed mass speak only in times of rebellion or revolution and even then under the inspiration of their leaders who rise out of the educated minority, but their voice is not heard amid a process of silent evolution in the benefits of which they are bound to participate. Did the mass in England cry for the 'Magna Charta' or the Petition of Rights or the Reform Bill? The educated few have everywhere represented the ignorant many and history tells us that they have always been their unaccredited spokesmen. And then whose fault is it that the masses in India are dumb and illiterate? The Congress has cried and Congressmen have tried their utmost for the spread of elementary education and they have been told that the time has not yet arrived for universal compulsory education for the masses. We do not know if the astrological almanac is being consulted for an auspicious

day for such an undertaking. It all looks like the trite old, yet never hackneyed, game of 'head I win, tail you lose.'

Hindu-Moslem Question.

Another difficulty put forward is the eternal question of the differences between the Hindus and the Mohamedans of India. But the game has been nearly played out, and the Hindus and the Mohamedans have practically solved the question. It is more than five years ago that some of us dreamt a dream which appears now not to have been all a dream. The Congress and the League have come to meet at the same place and the day may not be far distant when in spite of the Siren song which has so far diverted their course. they will come to meet in the same pavilion and at the same time. The Hindus and Mohamedans are rapidly converging toward each other and indeed it would be a miracle if they did not so converge and if they continued to fly off at a tangent despite the irresistible attraction of the great centripetal force which is drawing them towards their common centre. The stock argument based upon occasional differences and disturbances between Hindus and Mussalmans cannot have much force. These are confined mostly to lower classes of people on either side. It is neither fair nor judicious to exaggerate their importance. There are Hindus and Mohamedans side by side in every Native State. In the Mohamedan State of Hyderabad with a Hindu population of nearly 70 per cent. and the Hindu State of Kashmere with 60 per cent. Mohamedan subjects we do not hear of any cow-killing riots or Mohurram disturbances or of any ill-feeling between the two communities. And one wonders why a different state of things should prevail in British territories. A nationality is now no

longer either a religious or a social federation, but a political unit. Diverse races professing different forms of religion and following distinct varieties of manners, customs and traditions easily submit to a common political faith to work out their common destiny. The Picts and the Scots, the Saxons and the Normans, the Protestants and the Catholics are now all welded into the great British nation. The Teutons and the Slavs, the Prussians and the Poles have formed one of the mightiest empires which has lit up a world-wide conflagration; while in that curious Dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary the Magyars, the Hungarians, the Czecks, the Poles, the Slaves, the Serbs, the Croates and the Rumanians have formed themselves into a national federation of no ordinary solidarity and strength. The Hindus and Mussalmans are both of common Aryan stock, while Hindu anthropology traces them to a common descent within the legendary period of their ancient history. Neither the Parsis nor the Mohamedans of India owe any temporal allegiance either to the Shah of Persia or the Sultan of Turkey. They are now Indians as much as the Hindus. But why indulge in speculations against a settled fact? I think I break no secret when I announce to you that the Hindu-Moslem question has been settled and the Hindus and Mussalmans have agreed to make a united demand for Self-Government. The All-India Congress Committee and the representatives of the Moslem League who recently met in conference at Calcutta have after two days' deliberations in one voice resolved to make a joint demand for a representative government in India. There are little differences on one or two minor points of detail, but they count for nothing. The vital issue has been solved and the main point has been gained. The report of the Conference will shortly be placed

before you and I need not enter into details. We have many historic days, but I believe the 17th November will rank among the brightest and the most notable of them all. I would now appeal to both the communities to sink all their minor domestic differences and present a solid front for the realisation of their common destiny within the Empire. Only the seeds having been sown, the seedlings have just sprouted and for God's sake let us not quarrel over the division of the crop which still demands our combined labour and attention before the harvest comes. What are special electorates and communal representations when there is really no electorate and no representation among a people? What matters it if Dinshaw Edulji Wacha or Surendra Nath Banerjee or Mazahrul Haque were to represent us in our National Assembly? They are three in one and one in three. Making a different application of this noble saying of the wise and saintly Yudhishtira we may say that we may be five brothers on one side and a hundred brothers on the other, but in a common cause we are a hundred and five brothers undivided and indivisible.

Gentlemen, an ounce of fact is said to be worth a ton of theories and while we here are quarrelling over the first principles of the problem, the Americans have quietly and speedily solved it in the Philippines.

The Philippines.

The Philippine islands from their discovery by Lopez de Villalobos in the reign of Philip of Spain were under a form of despotic government compared to which the despotism of John Company was an unmixed blessing. The archipelago is inhabited by a congeries of people speaking different languages and observing different forms of religion of the most primitive type. The Negritoes, the Negroes, the Panayas, the Mindanos, a

dark woolly people, Indonassians, the Malayans, the Chinese, the Spaniards and a number of non-descripts inhabit the islands. Of ancient civilisation and tradition these people have none, while as to their enlightenment and culture the world has heard nothing. The Americans conquered the islands in 1898 and the only claim of the people to the consideration of their liberators was that they had at first formed themselves into a band of insurgents under the leadership of an ambitious man named Aguinaldo who afterwards aspired to expel their benefactors. A provisional Government was, however, soon established by the Americans and peace restored in the country. Quite recently a proposal was brought forward in the House of Representatives of the United States for the granting of Home Rule to the Philippines and in the discussion which followed some maintained that it should be accomplished in two years, some in four years, while others held that there should be no time limit; but all agreed that the islanders must be given their freedom and the archipelago should not form a permanent appenage to the United States which since the Civil War had positively refused to go in for territorial aggrandisement even in the face of the splendid opportunities which the New World presented to them. The last resolution was carried; and the American Governor on addressing the Filipinos on the occasion of granting them a substantial majority in the Legislative Assemblies in 1913 said:—‘We regard ourselves as trustees, acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippines. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence. The administration will take one step at once. It will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the Commission and thus in the Upper as well as in the Lower House of the

Legislature..... We place within your reach the instruments of redemption. The door of opportunity stands open, and the event, under Providence is in your hands. The triumph is as great for us as it is for you.' Noble words these and nobly have the Americans come forward to fulfil them. As a result of this announcement the following measures have been introduced.

The Central Government in the Philippines is composed of the Governor-General, who is the chief executive and president of the Philippine Commission, and eight Commissioners, three Americans and five Filipinos. The Philippine Commission constitutes the Upper House and the elective Philippine Assembly the Lower House of the Legislative body. The members of the Assembly hold office for four years, and the Legislature elects two Resident Commissioners to the United States, who hold office for the same term. These are members of the United States' House of Representatives with a voice but not a vote. The islands are divided into 36 provinces of which 31 are regular and the rest special. The government of each of the regular provinces is vested in a provincial board composed of a Governor and two vocals. The Governor is the chief executive of the province and presiding officer of the board. He and the vocals of the board are all elected by popular vote. The Government of towns is practically autonomous, the officials being elected by the qualified voters of the municipalities and serving for four years. The Jones' Bill of Independence introduced in the United States Legislature proposed to confer complete independence on the Filipinos not later than four years from the passing of the bill. In place of the present Philippine Commission, which is abolished, the Filipinos are to elect a Senate. The house is already elected by the people, and with the election of the Senate, the electorate is to be increased by about 600,000. As about

200,000 Filipinos vote now the new law will grant voting rights to about 800,000. The office of Governor-General is retained and there is to be a Vice-Governor, an American, whose duties are to be fixed by the Governor-General. The functions of the Legislature are limited so as to provide that the coinage, currency, and immigration laws shall not be made without the approval of the President of the United States. Finally, all Americans residing in the islands who desire to vote must become citizens of the islands. 'The Republican' points out also that the preamble of the bill fixes no specific date for the granting of independence, but simply state that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a suitable government can be established therein. Therefore, as justly pointed out by the 'Indian Patriot' enlarged powers of self-government are granted in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers' they may the better be prepared fully to assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.'

Thus a complete autonomous federal government has already been established in the islands in which the Filipinos largely preponderate over the Americans and in which the actual administration has been substantially transferred to them. There is no bureaucracy in the Philippines, nor a Jingo press there. No, there is no ruler and ruled, no sedition and no internments. Self-Government has established a reign of peace and contentment. Every Filipino is now a free citizen unemasculated by the operation of any Arms Act and unfettered by any Press Law. Are the arm-chair critics who so lavishly indulge in abusing the Indian Nationalists of their 'extravagant hopes' and 'unrealisable de-

mands' prepared to give any explanation of this phenomenal progress of the Philippines under the suzerainty of America? What is the difference between the Union Jack and the Star and the Stripes? Let Sir William Wedderburn, who was as distinguished a member of the Indian Civil Service as his views have always commanded respect for their sobriety, soundness and moderation, answer. Sir William commenting on the question of Self-Government as viewed on a reference to the Philippines pertinently asks,—‘Can anybody show valid cause why this good example (of America) should not be followed by the British Government with regard to India? Are the Filippinos in any respect superior to the people of India? Or, is it that the British people are inferior to the Americans in love of principle and moral courage? We pause for a reply as to which of the alternatives is correct. Sir William then adds,—‘the problem in India is much simpler for India does not ask for a termination of the British connection, but I can say with certainty that among our best friends in India there exists grave disquiet, produced by the silence of the Government regarding their future policy, accompanied by irritating retrogressive legislation in Parliament and fresh activity of police repression in India.’ If the Filippinos have developed an instinct for Self-Government within 18 years no amount of reasoning or argument can satisfy the Indian mind that the Hindus, the Mohamedans, the Parsis and the Christians of India have not made even a near approach to it within 160 years; and if they are not yet fit for self-government, I despair of a time when they may be so.

Amendment of Constitution.

There is yet another question which ought to be clearly understood in connection with our demand for Self-Government. Is it any appreciable increase in our share

in the administration that we demand on the permanent basis of the present system of government? Or is it a thorough change in the constitution, irrespective of all considerations of larger employment of the children of the soil in the public services? To be more explicit, let us put the question in its naked form. Supposing the Public Service Commission, whose report is still a sealed book to the people of this country, have recommended that no less than one-half or even two-thirds of the appointments in the different civil services should be filled up by Indians, but that the present bureaucracy must always continue to be in power, would such a recommendation, even if accepted by the Government, satisfy Indian aspirations? I know the answer will be in the negative. Such an arrangement will only serve to add a number of Indian bureaucrats without adding a bit to the powers and privileges of the people, and there would not be much to choose between the present bureaucracy and its proposed substitute. It is the system and not the personnel of the administration from which the people suffer. It is the rotten soil that breeds rank weeds. It is only a radical change in the form and constitution of the Government, however slow or tentative in its character, but steady and continuous in its development, that can satisfy the growing spirit of the Indian people and remove their grievances. If the British Parliament were after the war to hold in one hand a very high percentage of the public employments and a small modicum of real Self-Government in the other and to ask India to choose between the two, I am sure, she would unhesitatingly grasp the one and let go the other.

Anarchy and Repression.

Gentlemen, the new spirit to which I have already referred frankly refuses to believe in the liberalisation

of a bureaucratic administration. The spirit is common to the young and the old with this difference only that, while the old would proceed cautiously and steadily, the young are moved by the enthusiastic ardour natural to their age. If the Congress has so far persistently advanced the claims of the people to a larger share in the various public services, it has done so more from an economic point of view than for the satisfaction of its demand for a national government. Irresponsible critics who denounce the new spirit ought to remember that it is not a sudden and abnormal growth in the Indian mind. It has appeared in Egypt, in Persia and in China and in fact in every country where autocratic rule has prevailed. All these countries have undergone the hammering process and everywhere hammering has served only to beat soft metal into hard ones. Anarchism and lawlessness have in all these countries followed in the wake of misrule.

The appearance of anarchism in the land has been a source of the deepest concern to the Government and the people alike. Both are interested in its eradication, alike for the ends of peaceful government and the progressive development of the country on constitutional lines. But we must know what the disease is before we can apply the remedy. Anarchism has its roots deep in economic and political conditions. One asks how is it that free countries like England and France or America are free from this taint. There the blessings of freedom, of industrial progress and of peace and contentment which follow in their train reign over the land. Let those great blessings be ours and anarchism will disappear. It is of western origin. It is an excrescence which ought to disappear with healing measures calculated to diffuse broadcast the blessings of political contentment and of material prosperity. By all means punish evil-doers and iniquitous breakers of the

law who commit wanton assaults on the lives and properties of their fellow-countrymen. But, repression is not the true remedy. Repression when unwisely enforced and against the sober sense and judgment of the community must aggravate the situation and strengthen those forces of discontent which are the breeding ground of anarchism. 'The sovereign remedy for public distempers,' says Burke, 'is conciliation and not coercion, for though coercion may succeed for a time it always leaves room for coercing again.' A sufficient trial has been given to the orthodox method of the bureaucracy and the Congress urges that the other method should now be tried.

The Assurances.

Gentlemen, we are roundly charged with revelling in 'extravagant hopes' and indulging in 'unrealizable demands.' But we have long refused to profit by the very friendly and eminently practical suggestions of those whose only claim to be regarded as Statesman or Englishman consists in the proud names which they have, like the 'bogus medical degrees' assumed for themselves. We do not judge the great British nation by specimens of this kind who do no honour to the English name. If we had done that the Congress would have long ago wound up its business and gone into voluntary liquidation. The descendants of Howard and Wilberforce, of Burke and Bright, of Macaulay and Maine, and of Canning and Ripon are not yet extinct. It is a nation of giants who refuse to tolerate injustice and perpetuate serfdom wherever they may exist, if only they are satisfied of their existence, and who possess a responsive heart to the call of freedom. It has been truly said that it is not Britain's heart, but Britain's ear, that has been so long deaf to the wail that has been raised in this country. But the din of war has risen

above all and the thrilling demonstrations of India's fidelity to the British connection have disabused many a robust mind in England of the hobgoblin stories to which they have been so lavishly treated in the past; and Liberals and Conservatives have, therefore, with equal emphasis come to recognize as rational what has been denounced as 'extravagant hopes' and 'unrealisable demands' of the Indian people.

England has been drawn into the vortex of a titanic struggle for the deliverance of Belgium and Serbia. God grant, she may come out with her brave allies completely triumphant in her heroic efforts. She has however a much greater stake in India and India has much greater claim to her consideration. Let us hope she will not fail to be at least just as she is generous. After the war is over a complete readjustment of the Empire will have to be made; all its component parts will have to be coordinated and harmonised with one another and with the parent state. India alone cannot be left out of this programme. She must be admitted into common and equal partnership with the colonies on terms of equal rights and obligations of the Empire, enjoying equal laws and equal rights of British citizenship throughout that Empire. The collar of a Dependency should be removed from her neck and the coronet of autonomous, selfgoverning state placed upon her head. What a glorious federation it would then be, more glorious than that of the Roman Empire or of any that the world has yet seen. England would do well to remember in her own interest that she cannot maintain a condition of perpetual pupillage anywhere within her world-wide possessions without slowly and imperceptibly inoculating herself with its poison in her own home. Demoralisation in one part of a body however remote must inevitably result, if not remedied, in the ultimate deterioration of the whole system. Present experience

has shown that for greater cohesion and solidarity of the empire, its component parts must be brought into closer touch and more intimate relations between one another and the mother country. India alone cannot be excluded from equal consideration in the coming readjustment, for if she were to be excluded India's position is sure to be worse than even at present. If the colonies are allowed a representation in the federal council of the Empire they will undoubtedly have a voice in the administration of India and, for aught we know, their representatives may sometimes find a place in the cabinet and also become the Secretary of State for India. If India is denied such representation she will be further degraded as being subject also to the colonies. There is a serious danger in admitting the colonies to a participation in determining the policy that is to be followed in relation to India for the colonial mind is saturated with the colour prejudice which would thus be reflected in the Government of India. Such a change in the 'angle of vision' it would be dreadful to contemplate. If the equilibrium of the Empire is to be maintained India must also be thrown into the scale: She must be freely admitted into partnership and given a free constitution like that of the self-governing dominions and a fair representation in the federal council along with the colonies.

Our Demands.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now propose as a summary to the foregoing discussions to submit a few 'daring and impertinent' proposals for the consideration of the Government both in England as well as in India. A memorandum presented by nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council has met with the criticisms of both sides. Some have regarded it as premature and falling short of our demands while others have de-

nounced it as extravagant. The circumstances which brought about the submission of this memorandum have already been explained to the public, while, as I read it, this memorandum represents neither the irreducible minimum nor the unenhancible maximum of our demands; nor do I understand the signatories to it to mean that their proposals are to be carried out on the morning following the day on which the treaty of Berlin may be signed. The signatories of the memorandum have however, done me one great service. They have borne the brunt of the fusilade and made my passage less difficult, so as to enable me to press forward unnoticed under cover of the fire. As to the other side of her shield our misfortune is that we are unable to see where the extravagance comes in. We have no superfluities in any direction and for such a people as ourselves to indulge in extravagance seems to be out of the question. Extravagance may seize the minds of those who have got enough and to spare. However that may be, here are our demands which God willing are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1. India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing state as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

2. In any scheme of readjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the colonies of the Empire.

3. India must be governed from Delhi and Simla and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under-Secretaries of State for India one should be an Indian and the salaries of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for

the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more power over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the dominions. India must have complete autonomy, financial, legislative as well as administrative.

4. The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain head of all the local administrations and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the local Government would be impossible. For this the services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a service may be utilized in the departments but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

5. The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor-General with a number of ministers not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a parliament and non-parliamentary cabinet.

6. The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council of India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period one-fifth may be appointed by the cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

7. The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money Bills, and except the military estimates, the entire Budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

8. The provincial Government should be perfectly autonomous, each Province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

9. A Provincial administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a Governor with a cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

10. The Provincial Legislative Council should in the case of a major province consist of 100 members and in the case of a minor province 75 members all of whom should be elected by the people and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should of course be the same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council.

11. As the executive and the legislative functions are to be separated, so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions of the State. The judicial administration, whether civil or criminal, should be wholly vested in the High Courts both as regards control as well as the pay, prospect and promotion of its officers. The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government.

12. The Arms Act should be repealed or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from the statute book and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

13. India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The com-

missioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to his Majesty's Indian subjects.

14. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the corporations of the Presidency towns, the district and taluk boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self-governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own. They should be freed from all official control except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct.

15. Mass education should be made free and compulsory. Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries.

The above is a summary of our demands. We do not fix any time-limit, for the duration of the war is uncertain and there must be a transitory period through which the process must pass. But if we fix no time-limit, we agree to no indefinite postponement either. Some of these proposals can and ought to be immediately carried out and there is no reason why they should wait for the termination of the war; while there are others which cannot of course be settled until the time for the readjustment of the Empire arrives; but we must be distinctly understood to maintain that this period should not be treated as a further extension granted to the present system of administration and its methods. There must be henceforth a distinct tendency visible in every branch of the administration to conciliate the people and inspire trust and confidence in the future policy of the Government. As words without thoughts never to heaven go, so promises without performance and sympathy without action can never touch the hearts of a people. Patience has often been prescribed as the sovereign remedy for all distempers; but

it cannot be denied that when the most skillful physician is unable for a long time to show any sign of improvement and on the contrary there are continued symptoms of aggravation, a suspicion naturally may arise in the mind of the patient as to the skill of the physician or the efficacy of his methods.

Conclusion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I have exhausted your patience although I have failed to exhaust my theme. My last words are to those bright young faces whom I see before me. My dear young friends and countrymen, you are our hostages to posterity. Every generation has a perpetual devolution and succession of rights and responsibilities. The acquisition of one generation becomes the heritage of the next, and it is the duty of each generation not only to enjoy what it receives from its predecessor, but also to transmit its heritage consolidated, augmented and improved to the one coming after it. Many of those who preceded you in this national struggle have been gathered to their fathers while those who are still in the field belong to a fast vanishing generation. You ought now to press forward to take their place and hold aloft the banner which is dropping from their sinking hand. Like the mother of the Grachii, India, poor India, shorn of her prestine grandeur and glory has only to boast of you as her 'precious jewels.' Remember of what great nation you are born. It was for you that in the early morning of the world the 'Vedas' were revealed and in a later period democratic Islam came with the "Koran" and the practical Parsi with the 'Zend Avesta.' Yours is the heritage of three of the most ancient civilisations of the world which have formed as it were a glorious confluence of three streams in this sacred land of yours; while to these in the dispensation of an inscrutable Providence a fourth has recently been added to constitute

a Sagara-Sangama for the deliverance of your race. It was for you that Viasa wrote and Valmiki sung and it was for you that Patanjali evolved the loftiest of philosophies and the Geeta expounded the sublime mysteries of life. It was here that more than two thousand years ago Buddha Gautama, the truest and greatest benefactor of mankind, first taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood of men, which now sways the minds of one-fifth of the population of this habitable globe; and it was here that 500 years ago Sree Chaitanya preached the gospel of love, fraternity and equality from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Narbbudda; and now modern civilisation is prostituting science, filling the air, land and water with deadly engines for the destruction of God's creation. But let us not be great only in the worship of a great past. A mighty wave of changes is surging throughout this world and India is passing through a momentous transition. Her future is in your hands: You can either make or mar that future. If I were asked, what was the first demand of the Motherland upon her children at this juncture, I would unhesitatingly answer that it is Patriotism. And the second?—Patriotism. And the third?—Patriotism. I do not mean that morbid sentiment which rises like a rocket and falls like a stone; not that sentiment which takes a man of his feet and lands him in disasters; not that sentiment which ponders to passion and does not appeal to reason; but I mean that supreme virtue which enlightens the head and ennobles the heart, and under the heavenly inspiration of which a man forgets his self and merges his individuality, like a drop in an ocean, in the vast all-absorbing interest of his country, feeding only on self-sacrifice and ever growing on what it feeds. To the Indian Nationalists their country must be their religion 'taught by no priests but by the beating hearts' and

her welfare their common faith 'which makes the many one.' Hushed be the whisper of jealousy and spite and silenced be the discordant notes of rancorous dissensions amongst you. Sink all your differences in a supreme common cause. Unite and stand solidly shoulder to shoulder, resolved either to conquer or to die. Or, what is life worth if we cannot live like men. Firm and resolute in your purpose, be always manly and dignified in your attitude and sober and cautious in your steps. Reverses there must be, but reverses should only stiffen your backs. Do not despair, for despair is the keynote of failure. The pendulum may be swinging forward and backward but look up and see the hand of invisible. Time is perpetually marking its progress on the dial of the destiny of your country. Above all, remember that nations are not born but made. They must grow from within but cannot be made to grow from without. You must stand on your own legs and be prepared to fight it out with heart within and God over head. Be ambitious but not proud; be humble but aspire to a nobler, manlier and healthier life. What have you to boast of but your vanished glories! You are Uitlanders in your own country. In the burning words of the Father of the Congress—

'What avail your wealth, your learning,
Empty titles, sordid trade?
True Self-rule were worth them all!
Nations by themselves are made.'

"The President of the Lucknow Congress makes out an irrefutable case for self-government for India by proving the unfitness of the present rulers to manage the affairs of the country with the aid of the existing machinery, and he adds to it as strong a case showing the fitness of the people to handle their own household affairs."—(Mrs. Anne Besant, in New India.)

III

Resolution on Self-Government

Speeches of Eminent Leaders.

At the request of the house the first resolution was moved by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea on Self-Government. It ran as follows:

‘That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilizations and have shown great capacity for government and administration and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule and, further, having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when his Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government on India.

‘That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the reform committee appointed by the All India Moslem League.

‘That in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing dominions.’

He said that the resolution was divided into two parts, the preamble and operative. The preamble set forth the grounds for the demand. Since they met last in Bombay, there was a joint conference of the Congress

and the Moslem League and they agreed to a scheme which formulated a united demand of India. That scheme was a crowning testimony of the unity between the Hindus and the Mohamedans. One of the arguments put forward against Self-Government was, that if it was conceded the interests of the masses would not be looked after. That view was expressed not only by the extremists in the Anglo-Indian press but by a responsible peer, Lord Ronaldsbay, the Governor-designate of Bengal, to whom the Secretary of State had given a certificate, when he was condemned in Bengal. It was ridiculous to suppose that they were not representatives of the masses but foreigners were the guardians and protectors of the people. To substitute natural leaders for foreigners was to reverse the order of nature. The object of the war was to vindicate the sanctity of negotiations and treaties. What was true in Europe must be true in Asia. What they wanted was that the gracious messages of their sovereigns should be vindicated. It was their wish that after the war Self-Government should be conceded to them.

Continuing, Mr. Banerjee said that Mr. Lionel Curtis, who had written several books on India, in his book on the 'Problem of the Commonwealth' said that the preparation for self-government of the people who were not self-governing should be the spiritual end and the aim of the people who were self-governing themselves. So preparation of races in Europe was a spiritual end and material order was the means. So far so good. But when he came to India he said, 'not yet,' because India had no electorate. The speaker asked, was there any electorate in Japan and Phillipine Islands? It had been said that the Indians were not fit for Self-Government but they should remember that when Europe was barbarous, the Indians had it. In the Vedic days the Kings were elected by the people. As regards Islam,

the Mohamedan community was saturated with the spirit of democracy.

Mr. Banerjea next explained why they wanted Self-Government. They wanted it for their interest as also that of the administration, they wanted it for their self-protection and for their moral elevation. Self-Government was the cement of the Empire. If it was granted anarchism would disappear. Good government was not a substitute for self-government but self-government was necessary for good government.

Mrs. Anne Besant

in seconding the resolution said she would only speak on the third part of the resolution. It had been said that it was not the time to ask for Self-Government when England was in the midst of a war. But in this they were only following the self-governing colonies; they should not wait and be dominated by five discoloured races of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. They should not bow down to the colourless people. It had been said that because they were divided they were not fit for self-government but now the Hindus and Mohamedans had been united. They stood today a united nation. The second objection was that the people were ignorant. But who was responsible for it? The late Mr. Gokhale wanted mass education and the British Legislative Council denied it. Their objection was that India was defenceless. But pray, who made her so? He who passed the Arms Act. It was Home Rule that would make them fit. She condemned in strong terms the Press Act and other measures passed during the last few years and said she was afraid that Sir James Meston might think her language was emphatic, but she wanted to make the rulers understand the intolerable condition of India.

In conclusion she said: England would not give them freedom. No nation could give freedom to any other nation but England would pass an Act proving India's loyalty that of free men.

Mr. Tilak

in supporting the resolution said: The resolution embodied all the principles for which the Congress had been fighting for the last 31 years. Self-Government had come before them in three names. Ten years ago Dadabhai Naoroji christened it as Swaraj, next Home Rule and last Self-Government. He trusted that in 1918 they would be able to meet in some part of India where they would be able to formulate a definite scheme of Self-Government.

The Hon. Mr. Mazharul-Huq

in supporting said: In all his political life he was of opinion that their Motherland could not advance without unity between Hindus and Mohamedans and that the unity had been achieved on the banks of the Gumti in Lucknow city. This unity was brought about by the Raja of Mahmudabad, a great patriot and an asset for India. The time for talk had gone and they must now work for Self-Government. There should be a propaganda to show that every man and woman demanded Self-Government.

Sir Dinsaw Petit, in supporting, said: His community was not against the rights and just aspirations of the people of India and congratulated the Hindus and Mohamedans on their unity which paved the way to the achievement of Self-Government .

The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur, in supporting, said: What they wanted was not so much the reforms, but powers to reform. They had been asked to be devoted to the Throne. They had been so and would be so, but was it possible to become devoted when there was no response to that devotion?

Messrs. Mudholkar, Khaparde, Baptista, Jehangir Petit, Gokarannath Misra and Govind Raghava Chariar supported.

Mr. Bepin Chander Pal, in supporting, said: The resolution embodied principles which were the conditions under which British connection could be perpetuated in this country. It had been said that India wanted brain power but the speaker was of opinion that given opportunity, they would find out brain power.

Mr. Lall and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu supported, after which it was carried amidst great enthusiasm.

Representatives of all classes, parties and communities in India took part in moving, seconding and supporting this resolution.

IV

English Viewpoint

Among this class of educated men there has been growing up for the last half century an increasing desire for a larger share in the government of their own country—a longing that India should have its place in the sun, and the vision of an Indian nation, independent and self-governing, taking its place with the colonies. These are honorable ambitions. It has been said that England conquered India in a fit of absent-mindedness, and this is amply true; we did not come to India with any idea of Empire or with any intention of conquering India; we came as traders, we established factories because they were necessary for the security of our trade; we assumed the governments of the districts and states because it seemed necessary to do so for the security of our factories, and so we were led on by the practical necessities of the case step by step until at last there came out this empire. The English officials do not at all realize what a natural and honorable ambition it is

on the part of the educated class to desire a greater share in the government of their own country, nor how splendid the vision of a self-governing India, nor can they understand how difficult their position may necessary be in India from the mere fact that they are foreigners, governing a people with an ancient civilization and history of their own.

Were the people of India ever to become fit for independence and wish for independence, the British Government would have done its work and would retire. The idea that we can ever maintain our government by force against the general will of the Indian people is unthinkable. Even if it were physically possible, our conscience would never allow us to use force and shed blood to maintain a foreign government in India, if the mass of the people wished for a government of their own. The all-important thing is that after the war we should cease to talk of ourselves as a ruling race, cease the effort to impose upon the people of India a purely western civilization, and cease to allow our policy to be dominated by the fear of weakening the position of the foreign bureaucracy.”—(Dr. Whitehead in the 19th Century And After.)

“India has much to teach, much to give to the people of Europe. She with Ireland is waiting to be given a chance of managing and controlling her own destiny and of sharing with the people of the world the great task of social and spiritual redemption, but she must secure her freedom and stand with us as a sister nation on equal terms with all the dominions. Let those who would deny her this right, compare her with any part of the Empire; apply any test-art, literature, science, philosophy, commerce, industry, statecraft and India will be found in every way on an equality and in some ways superior to others. She needs us and we need her to help to build the world anew.”—(The London Herald.)

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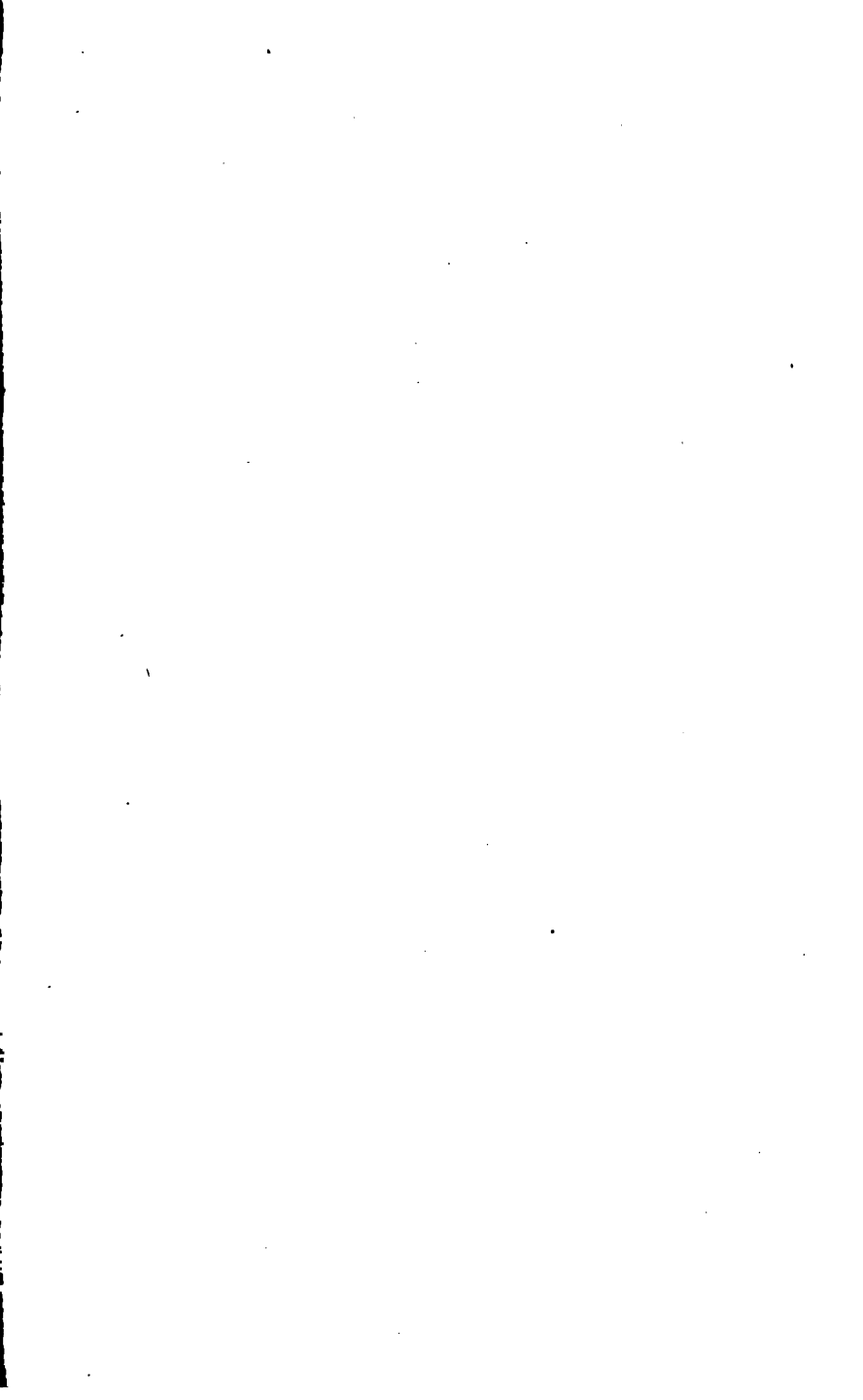
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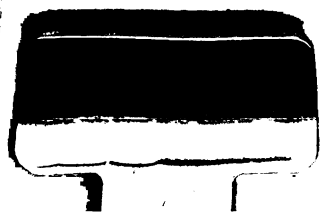
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